The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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CONGRESS

THE PLATFORM AND PRACTICE OF "PESTERING"

ANOTHER ANSWER TO THE ONLY (?) SUFFRAGE ARGUMENT

AN APPRECIATION OF A RIGHT ACTION

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THEIR FUNDAMENTAL ERROR

"UNEQUAL RIGHTS"

A NEW EXCUSE FOR SUFFRAGE FAILURES

STATES' EVIDENCE AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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THE PLATFORM AND PRACTICE OF "PESTERING"

(From an Editorial in the New York *Times*)

THE voters of the State of New York voted down woman suffrage last fall by a majority of nearly 195,000. Do the suffragists expect to overturn that majority in 1917?

In 1915, among the great calls on the thought and the energy of the country, in the perplexity of engrossing and grave problems, domestic and foreign, woman suffrage seemed to many voters almost an impertinence. If the war be over in 1917, the colossal work of world readjustment and reconstruction will be foremost. Will the public patience with woman suffrage be increased? * * *

PROBABLY no suffragist has ever made a statement more significant of the methods and beliefs of her cult than that recently uttered by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Addressing more than a thousand of her followers at the Cooper Union, she answered the above comment of the editor by a lengthy comparison of his attitude with that of King John and King George, which wound up with this question:

"I ask you, has anything ever been achieved without pestering?"

This question drew unanimous applause from the audience of suffragists.

Mrs. Catt then promised more pestering on the part of her followers at Albany and otherwise.

Alluding to the suggestion of the editor that it was an impertinence on the part of the suffragists to project their agitation into the halls of legislation at this critical period, Mrs. Catt said:

"We regard it as an impertinence on the part of the Kings and Emperors who started this war and interfered with our woman suffrage."

The principle of "suffrage first" could not ask a better illustration.

Neither could the principle of "pestering" ask for more faithful followers than the suffragists have gathered together behind its standards.

In the New York Legislature they earned the term "pestiferous nagging" from some of the members of that body.

But the interesting question that the advocacy of both these principles suggests is:

Have suffragists staked their cause on their faith in the efficacy of nagging as a national policy?

If they have—and their resolution to "torment" Congress, their frequent "declarations of war" on the Democrats, their periodical threats to legislators, and their many afflictions of President Wilson, seem to indicate that they have—could anyone ask a better reason why these women should not vote?

WHEN they win the vote—no matter how—they pester the men they elect. We have this illustrated at present in Chicago.

Four thousand women recently met there to criticize the administration that 63 per cent. of the woman's vote helped put into office. Probably this was the proper thing to do, the thing that men voters might have done, and done well.

They passed various resolutions and adopted a "women's municipal platform."

The funniest thing about that women's municipal platform to an anti-suffragist is that these women politicians seem to want to keep everything but themselves *out of politics*. They demanded:

"That the schools be divorced from politics.

"That members of the board of education be selected solely with reference to their capacity and public spirit.

"That the garbage situation be kept out of politics.

"That civil service appointments be kept out of politics."

Then the Mayor they are also trying to put out of politics had his inning. He called these 4,000 women "knockers"—which shows that men do not mince words with women politicians. He attacked their motives as political, and gave them a "terrific lashing," according to the Chicago *Evening Post*—a very pro-suffrage newspaper.

The battle royal between the Chicago women voters and their choice for Mayor is not edifying, and it is to those women's credit that they have tried to get some things *out of politics*. But it all goes to show that if they had kept *women* and "pestering" out of politics, they would have been in a better position to demand the non-partisan conduct of the city's affairs, and they could not have been subjected to the criticism of being actuated by partisan motives.

"These women are all my political enemies," asserts the Mayor.

"I deplore the fact that the minds of these women do not run along the lines of constructive policy—the upbuilding of Chicago, rather than the everlasting knocking and abusing of my administration," he adds.

But what can be expected? "Pestering" *must* be in women's politics, so long as pestering is the glorified principle of the women who *want* to be in politics.

NOW, let us consider the women without the vote who illustrate the pestering principle.

As the Secretary of the Wage-Earner's Anti-Suffrage League of New York recently said, before the last election, suffragists pleaded for "Justice and Democracy."

They wanted to "let the voice of the people be heard," because "the voice of the people is the voice of God."

But the voice of the people roared "No" on woman suffrage.

Therefore, the voice of the people must be forgotten by the franchise hunters and the legislators must be "plagued, troubled, annoyed by little vexations" (which is "pestering," according to Webster), until they do something for the cause *in spite* of the voice of the people.

Then, let us examine pestering at Washington. The suffragists were warned immediately after the last election by their sincerest friends and well-wishers among editors that they could gain nothing through Congress until they won more States. They did not doubt that in the least. Many of their leaders freely admitted it—and all know it. But "pestering" had to be done. Nothing had ever been achieved without pestering!

The barons won Magna Charta by "pestering" King John, says Mrs. Catt. Our forefathers won the Revolution by "pestering" King George!

Therefore, the suffragists would pester Congress.

They expected little, "but by aiming at Congress, we might hit something else," they announced. And they did.

The majority of women know that pestering is not popular nor necessary. Woman's work in the world and in the home is best done without it.

Politics would not be nor is it improved by women who have not yet learned this elemental lesson about human nature.

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

ANOTHER ANSWER TO THE ONLY (?) SUFFRAGE "ARGUMENT"

THE suffragists have apparently concluded that their cause is weak in debate, argument, facts and figures—or they would not have concentrated again this year on the liquor cry. By every form of cartoon, implication and innuendo the suffrage journals and speakers can concoct, the public is urged to believe that brewery and liquor interests contribute to the anti-suffragists. There is absolutely no truth in any of these insinuations. Some of these suffrage statements mutually cancel each other, as when the suffrage journal says the liquor interests of New Jersey have *never* denied contributing to anti-suffrage work, while the President of the New Jersey Suffrage Association tells her followers that they have *always* denied it.

As President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, the editor of this magazine issued an affidavit several years ago, declaring that no liquor or brewery interests had contributed to our campaigns. That affidavit holds true to-day. In addition, the WOMAN'S PROTEST has on file the affidavits or detailed statements issued by every one of the associations in the States that have voted on this issue, asserting that no liquor funds have been asked for, accepted or offered to their associations. The officers of the various men's leagues opposed to woman suffrage have also issued affidavits to the same effect.

These statements and affidavits, most of which have been made public in the separate States involved, would take up too much space for publication in the PROTEST, especially as most of our readers are sufficiently acquainted with anti-suffragists and anti-suffrage work to know that we should not have to pay any attention whatever to such ridiculous charges.

That our opponents keep on repeating these insinuations—without a scintilla of evidence to justify them—is a reflection on them, not us.

THE indefinite postponement of a report on the suffrage bill in the House Judiciary Committee was augmented by its being considered jointly with the prohibition amendment. This is the fact. Suffragists try to make-believe that it shows that "liquor" killed the suffrage bill. The exact opposite is the truth. Suffrage and prohibition checked each other. Chairman Webb, who introduced the prohibition bill, voted against his own measure because he is an anti-suffragist. So did other prohibitionists. The defeat was actually brought about because woman suffrage and prohibition had *distinct* and *divided* support among the members of the committee. Suffragists who were against prohibition sacrificed their suffrage to defeat prohibition, and anti-suffragists who were prohibitionists sacrificed their prohibition to defeat woman suffrage. This is the truth of the matter, regardless of how the suffragists seek to twist it to their own ends. Suffrage and prohibition were put together, but they wouldn't mix. At the last minute, the suffragists were trying by every means in their power to get their bill considered separately, and so were the prohibitionists. Last year, the prohibitionists received more votes in Congress than the suffragists, and had a far better chance this year, as they won several States while the suffragists lost four during 1915.

PRESIDENT WILSON, with the cares of a critical national and international situation on his hands, is to be "pestered" now to use his influence to get the suffrage bill considered again. If it comes before Congress eventually, it will be defeated by that body, too. Politicians may ask why suffragists court defeat so frequently. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt recently furnished the answer in an address before the Connecticut Suffrage Association:

"The amendment as introduced—the Federal amendment—was chiefly done to preempt the ground. There was no hope there; everybody recognized it; Miss Anthony recognized it, everybody did."

But she adds: "There had always been hearings, there had aways been a printed report which they got franked for nothing!"

And there had been *publicity!* The suffragists have used the Federal government for forty years to furnish free advertising for their agitation—that's all.

MEN admit that there is no career equal to politics for tense feeling and nervous wear. It demands the greatest coolness and deliberation, complete detachment from the personal view; and it demands these ready-made, it is not a school for developing them. Women do not need politics to incite them to cultivate their sense of public duty; they are, no less than men, bound to serve the State, and able to serve it wisely. "The end of government is the good of mankind," said Locke, and that good can be attained only by conveying all the various forces of the race toward the common end. The contribution of women toward this end, while equally essential, is necessarily unlike that of men.

To conclude as we began: If women are eager to do their share in aiding the reform, development, progress of the world about them, they do not need the suffrage. The progress of nature herself has brought us to the present condition of a "physiological division of labor;" we are strongest when working in accordance with the laws of our own being; we have every opportunity to do all the work that our individual and sex limitations permit; while our best contribution to the political welfare of our country is not the same as that of man, but the co-operation of our dissimilar gifts with his for our mutual benefit and that of the State of which all are members. "We have many members in one body, but all members have not the same office."

MRS. MARY K. SEDGWICK.

AN APPRECIATION OF A RIGHT ACTION

THE Board of Directors of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, at its meeting on March 30th, adopted the following resolution:

Be It Resolved, That the action of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives in postponing the projection of a suffrage amendment into that body at the present time, when national and international affairs have reached their most critical stage since the Civil War, deserves the thanks of every *loyal American;* and

Be It Further Resolved, That the Board of Directors of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in behalf of the members of this organization, tenders the committee as a whole and the individual members who voted against reporting the suffrage bill, our sincere appreciation of their action.

EFFICIENCY THE REAL TEST OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

By Mrs. A. J. George

THE position of the anti-suffragists is often misunderstood. In opposing the vote they do not contend that everything in the world is right. They recognize the wrongs and injustice in the world, they look forward to that day when out of the troubled social and economic order there shall come a fair chance for every man and woman to render their service to the State with greatest efficiency. The suffragists must prove that the vote in the hands of women will remedy the things that are wrong. It is not enough to point out the evils. One who advocates doubling our present electorate must show compensating gains for this doubling outlay of time and energy and increased cost to the taxpayer. The cost of being governed is one of the large factors in the high cost of living. We may not increase this cost without a reasonable assurance that the returns will show a proportionate balance on the right side of the ledger.

THE BASIS OF STABLE GOVERNMENT

We hear much about the women who want to vote, but in all this discussion, while there is vague talk of democracy and municipal housekeeping, we have from these women who seek by the votes of women to improve existing conditions no contribution to those discussions which deal with the fundamentals of government. The stability of government rests on a relentless enforcement of law, a sound fiscal policy, international relations which give room for progress at home. What contribution to tariff discussion, to fiscal policy, to banks and banking, to inernational relations with their various complications, do we hear from suffrage platforms? Pure milk and clean streets are not the whole of government: they are a most desirable part of our civic order, but if the financial resources are sapped, if the government is weakened by emotional legislation, these pieces of welfare and reform legislation, lacking the means to put them into operation, are not worth the paper they are written on.

Reason is applied experience. Does reason show that the limited experience of the women's vote in our own and in other countries is an economic use of women's powers? Does reason show that the experience of human nature promises that the average woman's vote shall be more sane, more intelligent, more steady—shall I say less emotional—than the vote of the average man of to-day? If not, why draw off into political activities the forces which the nation needs to employ in other ways? Why not conserve womanhood?

MAJORITY OF WOMEN NOT WITH SUFFRAGISTS

If there is one thing which alarms the advocates of woman suffrage, it is the suggestion that an opportunity shall be given to the women to register an opinion on this revolutionary measure. They hate the thought of it. The reason is quite clear. They must know very well that the great majority of women are not with them, and they do not want the voters to find this out. It is no part of their plan to give women a chance to express their will on this fundamental question. Never before has it been proposed to extend the franchise to a new electorate, the majority of whom are acknowledged to be either indifferent or opposed to it. Never before has there been organized opposition within the ranks of these to whom it is proposed to extend the franchise. Woman's citizenship is as real as man's. The question we must answer is one of social efficiency. Shall woman contribute her offering to the social order in the identical way that man contributes his offering? That is, through exercising the elective franchise by participating in government?

THE BURDEN OF THE FRANCHISE

The easy dropping of a ballot into the box on election day is not a contribution to good government. To win at the polls for a righteous cause one must have organization and generalship, and the woman who is efficient in family life has organization under her own roof which requires her best resources. She cannot properly give time to laying the plans of battle and perfecting the organization of campaign. Unless women are to take their duties of citizenship more conscientiously than your average man does to-day, the dangers of our electorate will have been doubled with no compensating gain.

It is particularly true in a representative democracy such as ours that there is imperative need of the education of the voter, for the gradual improvement of those units which go to make up the voting body, for, unless the quality of the electorate is gradually improved, our form of government, our great experiment of universal manhood suffrage, must fail.

Therefore, there is peculiar need under our system of government that the woman as the educator, as the one who, under our present conditions, must be so largely responsible for the raising of the standard of character in the individual citizen, should be held to those responsibilities which she is best able to perform. We cannot afford to run the risk of impairing the quality of our electorate by distracting woman from her present work wherein there is abundant opportunity for all her abilities. Women are not a class; they are a sex, and their interests are the same as those of men. To men hitherto have been entrusted the affairs of government. Women stand to-day for the duties of moral and social life apart from the spectacular duty of exercising political power under stress of personal political ambition.

THE ONLY SOURCE OF PERMANENT RELIEF

All this agitation for the ballot takes the proper attention away from the only direction from which permanent relief can come—the elevation of the standard of individual character—and fastens it upon a point from which permanent relief can never come—the ballot box. Woman is limited along the lines where the voter, the law-maker, must be strong. In all departments where the laws are to be applied and enforced woman's nature forbids her entrance. The casting of the ballot is the signing of a contract which implies vast responsibility and tireless attention. It is the following of a ballot to its conclusion that makes the body politic sound. The ambitious suffragist, if given her ballot, will have many a municipality to cleanse, many a fire to fight, many a street to police, many a prison to order, many a gambling den to raid, many a battle to win.

A FAIR FIELD WITH FAVOR TO NONE

This and no other would be *equal* suffrage—a fair field with favor to none—but it would be a brutal interpretation of woman's rights to insist that the mother of the race shall forfeit her rights and exemptions before the law and in civil life and enter into competition with men. Formerly the only right of women was the right to live. Gradually our statutes have recognized woman's civil and legal rights until to-day in the United States under the statutes of many States, woman is at a distinct advantage over man before the law. Educational opportunities, the professions and the trades are open to her. She has the right and opportunity to make the most of herself. She is relieved from the responsibilities of government, in order that she may be free to carry on her great enterprise of informing and training the growing citizen. It may be an old-fashioned occupation—obscure it usually is, and dull it often is—but the world needs woman's attention to her peculiar obligation to the State. In family life is her greatest efficiency, and already there are signs of woman's awakening to a realization of the real value in her own field. It has been a clumsy sort of compliment that she has aped men's methods, desired men's opportunities, while at the same time she has put the burden of all the world's failures on the shoulders of these same men. Woman will realize her distinctive service, and will not waste her powers in duplicating man's work.

EQUAL RIGHTS WITH A VENGEANCE

Everyone welcomes the opportunity of woman to earn her livelihood, but the State cannot afford to drive its women into industry if thereby the State loses woman's highest efficiency as a citizen. After two generations of more or less thoughtless exploitation of women as wage-earners, we are beginning to see that the woman goes into industry to meet all the hardships and problems of the working man and takes with her the handicap of her sex, of her lower physical and nervous vitality. Our laws begin to recognize that women must be especially protected because the potential motherhood of the race must be protected. "We do not want special protection by the law, we want exactly the treatment which men have," wrote an officer of the National Suffrage Association. This is equal rights with a vengeance. It is to the glory of our States where industrial conditions have made manifest the terrible cost at which the State uses its women in industry that those States have responded to the need of conserving its womanhood. We have the fifty-four-hour law, the minimum wage commission, the prohibition of night-work in manufacturing and mercantile pursuits in Indiana, Nebraska, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania, although women do not vote in these States. An electorate of men has created the best body of remedial and protective legislation for the working woman in response to the need for such legislation made manifest by economic and industrial conditions. It has yet to be shown that women electors as a body in any one double-suffrage State have evolved policies unknown to any other single man-suffrage State and distinct from the normal trend of present-day progress in which men and women play their part. Not until such showing can be made should the ballot be given women as a means of social efficiency.

THE STAY-AT-HOME VOTE

If we are to believe the statistics from officials in double-suffrage States, the woman's vote tends to increase the number of stay-at-home voters. In my own State of Massachusetts women have had the school vote since 1879, yet in 1912, over thirty years later, in 45 per cent. of the cities and towns not a single woman voted, and throughout the State less than 2½ per cent. of the number of women entitled to register and vote for school committee remembered that it was election day. Senator Root warns us that "No system of self-government will continue successfully unless the voters have sufficient public spirit to perform their own duty at the polls."

The working woman has grave economic and industrial questions to be settled, but in determining the issue of woman suffrage the norm of legislation must be the average woman of voting age. Only one-fifth of the women of voting age are gainfully employed. Four-fifths of the women of voting age are worthily employed in old-fashioned occupations. Already we see a reaction toward home and family life which shall take the place of the present agitation against the so-called sacrifice and narrowness of woman's sphere.

THE EXCEPTIONAL WOMAN

All over this country of ours there are women who, because of their unusual abilities, are unrepresentative women, exceptional women, released by personal circumstances from the duties of the normal women, who are doing splendid constructive work. This work is done with precision and excellence in proportion as these women keep away from political affiliations. They now have no personal political ambition to gratify; their service is rendered for the public good. An increasing number of these women on boards of public administration, in undertakings which are akin to the home-work for schools, libraries, hospitals, institutions for the dependent and defective—are giving the most compelling answer to the claim of the suffragists that all women must vote in order to serve the State efficiently.

The claim is made that votes for women will regulate the social evil; that the so-called immoral woman must have the vote "for protection"; yet, in a recent report by a woman court physician in Chicago, it was shown that two-thirds of the 588 immoral women who came before that court physician were mental defectives. Do these women need the vote to help their condition? Or should the community be aroused through education, not through political propaganda, to the pressing need of these women for development and training through healthful occupations.

THE BASIS OF SUFFRAGE DOCTRINE

Votes are far from being the whole story in this dispute. The imposition of political duties upon women is a fundamental departure from the ideals of life and of the distribution of its duties on which the fabric of our society rests to-day. We are getting on, as Mr. Asquith truly says. The militant suffragist exists as a result of the civilization which man has perfected, and the militant seeks to defeat man by virtue of his own consideration for her.

We are coming to see that on the basis of economic independence for women rests all woman's suffrage doctrine, and to understand that economic independence is impossible without social independence and domestic independence and sexual independence. The middle-of-the-road suffragist may no longer say, "Of course we don't stand for these things. We just want to vote." But just wanting to vote is the least part of the problem. The younger suffragists assert that "there are within the folds of modern franchise seekers a number of women who consider the vote the merest tool, a means to an end, that end being a complete social revolution." A pamphlet which bears the imprint of the National Woman Suffrage Association informs us that "the free woman's concern is to see to it that she shall be in a position to bear children if she wants them without soliciting maintenance from any man, whoever he may be; and this she can only do if she is earning money for herself, or is provided for out of some common fund for a limited time. It is neither desirable nor necessary for women when they are mothers to leave their chosen money-earning work for any length of time. The fact that they do so largely rests on tradition which has to be worn down."

In other words, just at the moment when experts have found that the child is better off in a poor home than in a good institution, along come the suffragist-feminists, who strive for economic independence of women, and who frankly say that in order to relieve woman from her old duties the State must undertake the care of the child.

A COMPLETE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

"A complete social revolution" is the cry of the feminist, and this social revolution is forecast by Karl Pearson, who suggests that children shall be raised by the State in order to save the mother from economic dependence on their father. Colonel Roosevelt used to see in this doctrine of Professor Pearson, English Socialist, only "a glorified State free lunch counter and a State foundling asylum," and the possibility of "an evil equality of moral turpitude."

"Woman suffrage must take its place as an integral splinter in the torch that lights the path of the social revolution," writes Daniel De Leon, and the socialist at least has the intellectual honesty to follow his premises to their logical conclusion. By socialists we mean the organized political party, whose representatives carried in the suffrage parade in Washington a banner inscribed, "ONE MILLION SOCIALISTS vote and work for WOMAN SUFFRAGE."

The middle-of-the-road suffragists may no longer take refuge in the bypaths of theory, but must push on to the conclusions which their contentions force upon them.

This "revolutionary" change, as Mr. Gladstone termed the imposition upon women of full political responsibilities, may not be set in motion and still leave everything unchanged. The vote is the smallest factor in the whole problem. Will you be a party to this social revolution and all that must precede and follow it, or will you seek to adapt old responsibilities and duties and tried ideals to new conditions, along which path lies the best promise for women, the best promise for an efficient State in whose benefits men and women alike share?

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT SITUATION

IT has been announced by leading members of the Congressional Union that a party of forty members of that organization are to take a trip in a special car to the double-suffrage States in order to urge the women voters in those States to influence Members of Congress to pass the Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage, which, with a stretch of imagination, they say may pass Congress this session. An astonishing opinion in view of facts which they must know, although they may choose to ignore them. The more astute leader of the National Woman Suffrage Association has announced publicly several times during the past few weeks that there is no hope of a Federal Amendment passing this session. She does not ignore facts.

What are these facts? In order that any Amendment to the Constitution of the United States shall be sent to the State Legislatures for ratification, it must pass by a vote of two-thirds of the Members of both Houses of Congress, that is, it must receive 72 votes in the Senate and in the Lower House 294 votes. In March, 1914, the Senate vote on the Woman Suffrage Amendment recorded 35 for the measure and 34 against. In January, 1915, the House of Representatives voted 204 against the measure and 174 in favor. A careful canvass of the Senate shows a majority of the Senators opposed to the Woman Suffrage Amendment and in the Lower House a much larger majority against it than when the vote was taken in 1915.

On February 15th the Judiciary Committee of the House voted 9 to 7 to postpone a report of the Woman Suffrage Amendment until December. The suffragists made an effort to have the committee reconsider its action. As a result, it was brought before the committee again on March 28th, and indefinitely postponed by a vote of 10 to 9.

At the Convention of the Congressional Union held in Washington, December 9, 1915, a resolution was passed declaring that "the enfranchisement of women is more important than revenue, commerce, national defense or international relations."

At the time this action was taken it was criticized by the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage as "showing a lack of patriotism and in making a sham fight, which is a scandal and a reflection upon the intelligence of American womanhood."

This criticism was just at that time, and how much more so it is at present, when the situation is so serious that the whole future of our country depends on the wise decisions of Congress and our Chief Executive.

A few inferences deserve consideration. Recently the Congressional Union has repeatedly threatened Congress and the Democratic party with the power held by them through the 4,000,000 women voters in the double-suffrage States. Anti-suffragists, basing their statements on official figures, have always contended that there were not even 2,000,000 women voters in these States, and this has been confirmed recently by Mrs. Catt, President of the National Woman Suffrage Association. Of these women many do not vote and many are undoubtedly partisan and would put party affiliation before the dictates of the Congressional Union. A threat with no foundation of truth is worse than useless. The women voters should have at least as much credit given to them as to the men for patriotic recognition of their responsibility as voters. The Congressional Union has threatened to boycott the party in Congress which does not pass the Woman Suffrage Amendment. As there is no probability of either the Democratic or the Republican parties lining up in favor of women suffrage in Congress or at their National Conventions, what is there left for the Congressional Union to do but to ally itself with the Socialist party, which has a suffrage plank in its platform.

THEIR FUNDAMENTAL ERROR

THE average man and woman has heard a lot about woman suffrage, pro and con, but much of it is not convincing one way or the other.

Some women are clamoring for the vote, and others are very much opposed to the idea of letting their sex vote.

The average man and his wife do not understand why one body of women is hysterically eager to get the elective franchise, nor why another body of women is determined that they shall not have it.

As a consequence, outside the camps of the suffrage and anti-suffrage forces there is little true conception of the fundamental principles involved.

"Oh, yes," says the average person, "I know that some of you women want votes, but why? What good will they do you?"

But the same average person also asks:

"Yes, I understand that some of you women do not want to vote, but why do you want to keep others from voting?"

These simple questions really contain the key to the fundamental difference of opinion between suffragists and anti-suffragists.

The first question is usually resented by the suffragist.

"It does not matter," she says, "why I want a vote. Men are not asked why they want a vote or if they want a vote. It is given them unasked. I think I could better my condition with a vote, and if only one woman in the world wants to vote, she has a right to vote. Those who do not want to vote do not have to vote."

This reply represents the average suffrage opinion absolutely. Every word of it has been employed by leading suffragists for nearly seventy years. It is not new, but it is representative of the fundamental faith of the advocates of woman suffrage.

It is this fundamental conception of voting that is wrong.

The vote, they believe, is a personal possession included in the idea of citizenship, an inherent right due the individual from the State, whether the individual sees fit to exercise the right or not.

The age-old answer of the anti-suffragist, that the vote is not a right, but a privilege, is true enough, but not always convincing.

Everybody has heard that the Supreme Court decided long ago that voting is not a right, but that fact in itself is no argument why it should not be made a right if it were desirable.

It is the principle back of this idea of "rights" which we must examine.

The suffragist exhibits it when she says, "one woman in the world should have a vote if she wants it"; that "those who do not want to vote, do not have to vote."

This is the fundamental error of the suffragists.

That it is shared by a large number of persons who are neither suffragists nor anti-suffragists, makes this error all the more dangerous, and its effect all the more extensive.

NOT AN INDIVIDUAL OPINION

Voting they regard as an individual expression of opinion, to which everyone should be entitled in a land which grants "free speech."

They can no more understand why anti-suffragists should desire to prevent their voting than a radical speaker can understand why the police refuse to let her address a street crowd. Suffragists believe they are as much oppressed under a government that does not let them vote as the radical speaker considers herself when suppressed by the police.

Right here it is well to point out the difference. It will illustrate the correct attitude toward voting which should exist all along the line.

The radical speaker on the street corner may cause some trouble; she may incite a riot or inflame a mob to lawless acts. When she does that she is suppressed or imprisoned, but otherwise she is entitled to her full privilege of free speech, and all Americans are convinced that it is the best public policy to let anyone say what he pleases short of treasonable utterances.

But this act of the radical speaker, even though in public, is an incidental, individual act. It is not a process in State or National government, it does not affect anyone but the speaker and her hearers, it decides no matters of grave public concern, it elects no officers that the State must pay, it authorizes no change in the fundamental laws of the country.

A PUBLIC, NOT A PRIVATE ACT

Voting is a public, not a private act. The individual is no more entitled to vote by reason of his personality than the individual is entitled to wage personal war, elect a personal official or enact a private law.

Voting is a necessary process in government, to which the State calls certain qualified citizens, just as it calls upon other citizens to defend government or to enforce the laws. The State establishes arbitrary standards for each of these public performances of duty. It selects, according to its experience and judgment, those best fitted for these purposes. Those who are not selected may have other grounds for complaint, but they have no "natural right" as a basis of their objections.

The man who wears glasses may believe that the recruiting officers who refuse his enlistment are unjust; the man who wants to be a policeman may feel deeply injured because he was under the standard of weight and height; the boy of twenty may wonder why he must wait a year for a vote.

So, too, the suffragist may want to vote, or to join the army, navy or police force, but she has no right to do any of these things unless the State decides that it is for the public good that she shall do them.

It is all the more easy to understand the anti-suffrage arguments if we examine a parallel case. Roughly, all male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five are available for military service. In an emergency, the country calls upon them, or even drafts them for its service. In times of peace, it selects from among them certain applicants who are organized into an army and navy. But neither in war nor peace has the individual a "right" to join the organized forces of his country, unless he possesses the qualification his country demands.

When he is *selected*, however, his duty is clear, and his desertion punishable by death.

IF WOMEN WISHED TO GO TO WAR

If certain women, in the present war, were pleading for the "right" to join the army, and others of their sex were contending that they possessed no such right, and would only make war more horrible and subject their sex to greater hardships than it had ever borne, all would be understood. The "one woman in the world" who wanted a law passed to allow her to carry a rifle on the firing line would be ridiculed. Everyone would see that if some women could become soldiers, many women might be made to serve the State in that manner. No one could fail to grasp the point of the opposition.

It is exactly on this basis, in the parallel of politics, that anti-suffragists object to the enfranchisement of women.

The men who are enfranchised have been called on guard by their country. Those who do not vote are duty shirkers and deserters. They are in the same class with the soldier who stays away from his regiment and makes someone else stand his guard. And just as the neglect of one soldier lessens the strength of his organization, so the neglect of one voter lessens the strength of his party. It is a public duty, not a priviate right, that is required of him in each case.

Were the State to enfranchise women, the same public duty would be required of our sex.

But not only would the State require voting as a duty. Our convictions and loyalty to our ideals would compel it.

OTHER PRINCIPLES INVOLVED

The suffragists have other principles beside the desire for the franchise. It is these other revolutionary principles, such as feminism, economic independence, easy divorce and a lower standard of morality for women, which are condoned or advocated by radical women much in the public eye, which anti-suffragists must prevent becoming the law of the land.

As the power of the good woman is greater without the vote; as all these radical theories are more impotent in public opinion, where they must fight in the light, than in politics, where they can gain their ends by secret and tricky methods, women object to the proposal that they shall meet the rebels against their sex in the political arena.

Were the State to enfranchise women, it would draft the normal women into politics merely to offset the rebel woman's vote. That the normal are in the majority is no argument, so long as the majority of women are married and mothers, and occupied at duties which prevent their taking the active part in politics that would be necessary to counteract the votes of the suffragist, feminist and socialist women.

The woman doing her full duty as wife and mother is no match for the female politician with a vote. She has neither the leisure and freedom of the female politician, nor will she stoop to the methods by which the female politician, like the male of the species, most often succeeds in thwarting the will of the people.

In conclusion, every clear thinking person must admit that so long as the majority of the women desire to remain out of politics, democracy demands that their decision be respected on this political question just as much as their actual votes would be respected as a decision on any other political issue.

No one has ever successfully denied the fact that the majority of women do not want the suffrage, and will not exercise the suffrage if thrust upon them.

"UNEQUAL RIGHTS"

(Editorial, the Seattle, Wash., *Town Crier*, March 4, 1916)

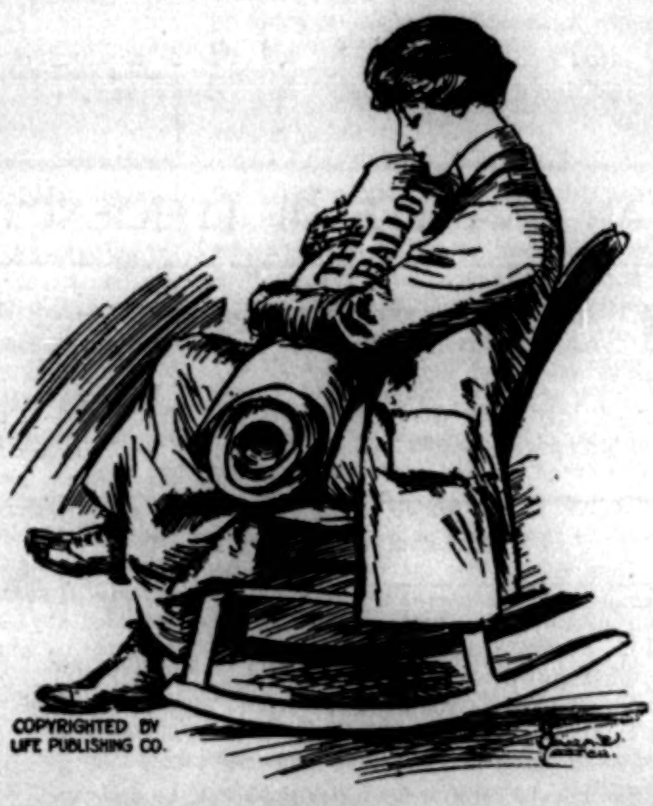
EQUAL rights in politics have not been much in evidence in our present city campaign. It may turn out on election day that a man's vote counts for as much as a woman's; but in every other political respect, our more active women citizens claim advantages and immunities which completely upset the balance. While they are willing to use men's weapons as well as their own in the political strife, no weapons of any kind may be used against them by the men—no, nor by any other women. The equality begins and ends with the measure of the individual vote. In all that goes before and follows after the vote, the women maintain their superiority over the men, in politics as in everything else.

Politics, as generally played—neither better nor worse than in earlier years—is a game in which the finer instincts for truthfulness, gentleness and fair dealing have no great part. Trifles are magnified, words are twisted, facts are distorted, for the profit of moment or the campaign. Participation by the women has thus far had no perceptible effect in making the game any more fair and square. On the contrary, it has added other elements of unfairness by admitting and encouraging the play upon women's emotions, by introducing the unreasoning appeal of "home and mother," by the substitution of "sob stuff" in place of straightforward argument.

A certain coterie of Seattle women, busied with "public affairs" at all seasons, but more frankly taking their places as politicians when a campaign comes on, sieze upon their privilege of saying all that they please and doing all that they can do in behalf of one candidate and to the detriment of another. They use all the old-fashioned political methods, and devise many new, to accomplish their purposes. But the moment a mere man ventures to criticize their methods or impugn their motives, they throw forward the protecting shield of their womanhood, while the male claque with which they happen to be working sets up a clamor of protest against insult.

It doesn't matter what the women say about the man in politics; but the men musn't say a thing except in praise of the woman in politics. And who shall say that there is in this any inequality of political rights, from the woman's point of view?

HUGGING A DELUSION


THE BALLOT
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ISSUED BY
THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION
OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Copies of the above sketch on post-cards, with our Platform printed on the other side, may be obtained for 50 cents a hundred, or $4.50 a thousand, from the New York State Association.

"SPOILERS"—A NEW EXCUSE FOR SUFFRAGE FAILURES

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, in a speech a few days ago, declared that all the "spoilers" are opposed to woman suffrage. She said:

"The spoilers are our real opponents. When some great power, with much money, contributes vast sums to political campaign funds it virtually buys up the consideration of the leaders of those parties * * * and they, therefore, are able to largely control legislation, whether it be in a city, State or a nation. Those powers are all opposed to suffrage."

What does Mrs. Catt mean? What are "those powers?"

Mrs. Catt is reminded of the declaration of the most enthusiastic suffrage editor in the country that "no group of men can buy an election." This statement, curiously, was featured on the same sheet, on the same day that Mrs. Catt's assertion appeared.

Also, Mrs. Catt recently told her followers—at a session of a State convention—that the Federal Suffrage Amendment was in danger because an amendment had been introduced limiting the time for ratification by the States to four years, and another amendment proposed submission of Federal amendments to the *voters* instead of the legislative bodies. She said:

"Four years, I suppose, they think is a generous time for an amendment, but it is not a generous time for a suffrage amendment." Again:

"What kind of a predicament would we be in with limiting the time and then find forty-eight referendum campaigns on our hands simultaneously? There are all kinds of things coming up which need to be watched, not only by an expert lobby, but with an organization in every State which will respond quickly in order that we may at least protect this method of securing our vote." What method? She added:

"Here is the thing, that while we have 98,000,000 of people in this country, ten States have 53,000,000. Therefore, a Federal amendment when ratified by three-quarters of the States might be ratified by a minority of the population."

If the "spoilers" control legislation, why do suffragists prefer to go to the *legislatures* rather than the *people* with a Federal amendment? Why do they need "an expert lobby" to "protect this method"—the minority method—"of securing our vote?" And why do they ask a State Legislature to reverse the decision when they are defeated at the polls?

"No group of men can buy an election"—and no man or group of men representing a great party or policy in the United States has received so high a plurality percentage of the votes cast as the *average* majority given the *antis* in eleven States in three years.

No "spoilers" can persuade millions of men, eight out of ten of them married, to vote against the wishes of their wives on a question such as woman suffrage. Like the liquor cry and other suffrage absurdities, the "spoilers" statement is another appeal to prejudice in the absence of an argument.

AN EXAMPLE OF EFFICIENCY

THE following editorial in the Chicago *Tribune*, March 31st, shows how much better a woman may spend her leisure than in "playing at politics":

Mrs. Hotz is one of a number of well-to-do Chicago women who through the influence of the European war have taken the course prescribed for American army nurses.

One of the instructions given to the class at graduation was always to travel with an outfit to render first aid to the injured.

Thus it was that the train wreck found her prepared and equipped. In the horror of death before dawn she was coolly efficient.

She put a tourniquet on the stump of a severed arm. She improvised a blanket splint for an old man with a compound fracture of the leg. She quickly distinguished between the living and the dead, saving all energy for the work of rescue.

She showed heroism for which she should be decorated.

What good would her heroism have been if she had not prepared herself for this terrible but not unusual accident? Very little, to be sure.

Our richer women have much time on their hands—too much, perhaps. It is passed in many ways, varying from classic dancing to playing at politics.

Mrs. Hotz has set Chicago women an example.

A PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHY

THE recent death of Susan E. Blow, who introduced kindergartens in this country, once more shows in high relief the achievements of women who, like Dorothea Dix, Jeannette Gilder and Clara M. Dow, were not only able to gain distinction in the fields of public service, but who realized the dignity, power and opportunity open to women working as women.

The following extract from an address by Susan E. Blow at the Colony Club, New York, two years ago, is an apt illustration of the constructive thought and vision of the woman who contributed so much to the cause of education:

"Woman's interest to-day has been diverted from her own specific activities to those of men. Partly in consequence of this diverted interest and partly from other causes, the economic administration of the home; the beautifying of the home; the nurture of children, the process of character building in boys and girls, the evolution of family and social life and the conception of a truly religious education, have not kept pace with development of civilization in the economic, scientific and political spheres. In brief, men have outrun women in solving their specific problems, and having permitted arrest in home life, family nurture and social intercourse, women have imputed to their sphere of life the narrowness and pettiness resulting from their own failure to develop its possibilities; they feel themselves too great for their ancestral life, and are blind to the fact that this life itself is appealing to them for the creative touch which shall transform it into the loveliness of a new world."

STATES' EVIDENCE AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

ALABAMA

HON. J. H. GREEN, of the Alabama Legislature, who introduced the suffrage bill in that State, recently discovered he was on the wrong side, and manfully opposed the bill he had fathered. When accused of going over to the antis "without warning and for reasons known only to himself," Mr. Green issued the following signed statement to the Montgomery, Ala., *Advertiser*, as his explanation, in part:

"When the question was first broached to me, I was induced by an innate but mistaken sense of chivalry to believe that men should extend to women all the privileges which they themselves exercise. At that time I knew almost nothing of the history of the movement, and didn't dream that it was being fostered by socialists and feminists as a means to an end, and that end a complete revolution and overturning of our social fabric. It was only after I began to search for material from which to frame a speech in support of the bill favoring woman suffrage that my eyes were opened and I discovered these things were incontrovertible facts. The further I went, the worse it got, and common honesty, my duty to my State and, above all, my duty to the women of the South, the vast majority of whom were not asking for this thing, demanded that I call a halt, acknowledge my error and do all in my power to rectify it. This I have done and this I am doing; and the unmerited abuse that has been heaped on me by the suffragists with their characteristic intolerance, has not, and will not, disturb my equanimity, and will not deter me from fighting this monstrous thing or from doing all I can to uphold and defend the beautiful traditions and conventions of the South, and to resent any imputation that they 'ought to be routed,' or that her women are groveling in ignorance and must follow the lead of Utah and other Western States where all the freaks come from to be 'educated.' "

ARIZONA

(Phoenix, Ariz., *Gazette*, Mar. 4, 1916).

"THE women are simply refusing to vote. Even when automobiles are sent for them they say that they have no interest in the outcome of the election and have too many dishes to wash to waste any time running around polling places."

"Only a fraction of the registered voters had appeared at the polls up to 1 o'clock and there was no prospect of any rush."

COLORADO

(The Denver, Colo., *Post*, March 5, 1916)

COLORADO Democrats washed their hands of all interest in suffrage as a national issue yesterday afternoon when the State Central Committee refused to consider a resolution asking its indorsement of the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution or to urge the Judiciary Committee of the United States House of Representatives to make a favorable report on the amendment this session.

The action of the Democratic State Central Committee of Colorado in refusing to follow the example of the Democratic Central Committee of Kansas and California that have indorsed the suffrage measure, places Colorado Democrats in the lists of those who are opposed to granting votes to women through an amendment to the Federal Constitution and removes what would have been a valuable prop from those who are working for suffrage in Iowa and other States where suffrage will be made the issue soon.

IOWA

THE Iowa Association of Men Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

Such is the name of the organization recently formed at Des Moines to aid the anti-suffragists in their endeavors to keep women out of politics.

Former Governor Frank D. Jackson is president of this new men's league; Mr. Simon Cassady, vice-president, and Mr. L. E. Harbach, secretary and treasurer.

The executive committee contains the names of Messrs. C. L. Herring, Harry H. Polk, R. E. Collins, J. P. Mardis, Oscar Strauss, John A. Elliott, J. H. Phillips, Richard R. Rollins and Nathan E. Coffin.

The association has issued the following appeal and is trying to raise an organization of 50,000 men in Iowa:

"This organization has been formed for the purpose of dstributing information to the voters of Iowa concerning the vital question of woman suffrage.

"The thinking, conservative men of the State should rouse themselves to a thorough investigation of this issue which already in a few western States owes its success largely to misapprehension and apathy on the part of the male voters.

"If you believe in the conservation of womanhood; if you believe in the present exalted position of American women; if you would save the women of Iowa from politics and public office for which nature did not design them, sign the enclosed application for membership."

Memberships cost $5 each. Any one can take any number.

The organization of a men's association in Iowa will prove a great assistance to the women anti-suffragists, as it has in other States. There are things in politics for which the men are eminently more fitted than women. Even the suffragists recognize this in the formation of their own men's leagues, which take over the heavier part of their campaigns.

Meetings, luncheons, receptions and lectures are being given in many sections of the State by the various anti-suffrage branches.

Labor unions, roatary clubs, chambers of commerce and women's organizations are being addressed, many debates are being held in the high schools and colleges, and the entire State is rapidly coming to understand the vital principles involved in the woman suffrage question.

Before the vote is taken in June, the men of Iowa will have had a splendid opportunity to acquaint themselves with all the best arguments on both sides. The anti-suffrage victory in Iowa, therefore, should equal that of Massachusetts if a big vote is polled.

The only difficulties that hamper the antis are a lack of funds for campaign expenses and the apathy of a large number of people who have not yet become interested enough in this grave question to give it the attention it deserves. But that condition is rapidly being corrected in Iowa, as the men and women of this State are well educated, clear-headed and right-thinking people who are eager to see Iowa on the safe, sane and progressive side of every great public issue.

MASSACHUSETTS

DURING March the Massachusetts Association devoted a great deal of its activity to assisting the Iowa campaign. Several boxes of buttons, posters, pamphlets, etc., were shipped to Des Moines and Dubuque, and more Massachusetts women were sent to Iowa. Mrs. B. L. Robinson, a member of the Executive Committee and President of the Public Interest League, accompanied by Miss Stella Bent of Cambridge and Mrs. Russell of Fitchburg, recently went to Des Moines. Mrs. John Balch, President of the Massachusetts Woman's Anti-Suffrage Association, who is an Iowan, and Mrs. White, went to Iowa a month ago.

States' Evidence Against Woman Suffrage—(*Continued*)

On April 4th the Brookline Branch held a whist party and a cake and candy sale for the benefit of the Iowa campaign. Other meetings are to be held by the branch chairmen, at which it is hoped that even more enthusiasm will be aroused for raising funds for the western work.

Locally there is much interest in anti-suffrage activity. Some meetings were held in March and a number are planned for April. There is a steady demand for literature for study and debates in this State, and we are also receiving numerous requests for literature and in formation from the Southern States.

In addition to its Red Cross work, the Public Interest League has started subscriptions and opened branches in Cambridge, Brookline, Wellesley, Watertown, Waltham, Canton and Fitchburg for the benefit of war orphans and other sufferers in Europe.

The annual meeting of the association will be held at Hotel Brunswick on Thursday, April 27th, at 2:30 P. M.

MINNESOTA

(St. Paul, Minn., *Times*, March 18, 1916)

THE Minnesota suffragists in refuting the statement of the anti-suffragists that "suffrage is going not coming," make the following statement: "Never in the history of the movement has ground once gained been lost. The impetus is always onward with the inevitable end—success."

Minnesota anti-suffragists are asking if the Suffragist State Press Chairman has forgotten Michigan and Ohio?

If the suffrage movement is not on the wane, why then do suffrage advocates adopt a policy which is such a distinct repudiation of the popular government as that of trying to force the vote upon all women through a Federal Amendment? Was not the demand for woman suffrage originally made in the name of democracy?

Mrs. Rounds's statement before the commissioner of education's advisory board to the effect that the women "did more harm than good," in the bond election campaign is what most people believe. Couple with that the statement of a mail-bag writer who says:

"I say shame on the women who were responsible for such a campaign as was just ended. If that is a sample of what our politics will be if we adopt woman suffrage, I hope we will be spared that evil. I have always been an ardent supporter of woman suffrage, but since the school bond campaign I have very grave doubts as to the advisability of our adopting it and I want to say I am not alone in this opinion. I have been in a position to hear the expressions of men who have always been strong supporters of woman suffrage and of the school bond issue, but who after some days of campaigning by the women declared themselves emphatically against both propositions; even the women resented the campaigning of their own sex, and I wish to add my opinion to that of Mrs. Rounds, and I will go further and make the assertion that the activities of certain women defeated the school bond question."

These sentiments would seem to confirm the general opinion that suffrage is "going, not coming." A little more campaigning like that on the bond issue would kill it beyond the possibility of a dream of resurrection in St. Paul.

NEW YORK

"REMEMBER the vote at Albany!" With this new slogan sixty anti-suffragists from New York City and other sections of the State attended the session of the Senate on April 5th, as a compliment to Senator Brown and the other men who voted against re-submission of the suffrage amendment, which was defeated last November by over 194,000 votes.

They presented the following resolution as a tribute "to the men who recognize the authority of majority rule."

Whereas, An overwhelming majority of the voters of New York State recorded an opinion emphatically adverse to woman suffrage at a time and in a manner specifically designated for such expression of opinion; and

Whereas, The expression of opinion in November is too recent, and no new evidence has been produced to warrant a belief in any change in that opinion; and

Whereas, There are other questions now demanding the unharassed attention of the lawmakers of the State, questions of grave importance to the State; and

"Because of the difference in methods of suffragists and anti-suffragists, the legislators at Albany this year may have felt an apparent lack of support of their anti-suffrage constituents; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the anti-suffragists, in State Council assembled, March 31, 1916: That they pledge their future support through husbands, brothers, fathers, sons and friends who represent them at the polls, to the men who recognize the authority of majority rule.

This resolution was first adopted in the form of a letter to Senator Brown, which was approved by the 500 women assembled at the New York Anti-Suffrage Luncheon, Hotel Plaza, March 30th.

Another feature of the luncheon was the presentation of the money recently raised by the Junior Anti-Suffrage League at a dance.

Allan R. Hawley, President of the Aero Club, was presented with $800 for the training of two aviators in the interest of nation preparedness.

The New York State Association received $300 from the Juniors and the National Association $250.

PENNSYLVANIA

IN the March number of THE PROTEST the article headed "Pennsylvania" closes with the remark, "Charity work under the auspices of the Association is also to be organized throughout the State." Certainly, at the present time there can be no more urgent charity—if charity it may be called—than war-relief work, and the Pittsburgh Association and its Junior Branch feel that they may justly be proud of their splendid work already well organized and turning out good results. Under the auspices of the Senior organization regular meetings are held every other Monday afternoon at the homes of the members when work on Red Cross supplies is carried on and collections made of old linen, new muslins and articles of necessity and comfort for use whether in hospitals or soldiers' comfort bags. These articles and supplies are sent to the Bureau of Surgical Supplies in New York who forward them to their ultimate destination. Already about 300 fracture pillows, many yards of new muslin, a great box of old linen and many other supplies have been sent. At the meetings a speaker or reader is provided so that the members are kept in close touch with the latest anti-suffrage news and tea is served, which gives a half-hour of social chat and interchange of ideas over the tea-cups.

The work of the Junior organization is of a very different nature, but is equally important. Under their auspices two immense classes were formed in "First Aid to the Injured." So great was the interest in these classes that plans were started for an evening course for working girls. At the first meeting of this evening class, held in the parish-house of a down-town church, so many applied for membership that steps are now being taken to divide this class and furnish a meeting place also in the East End. The morning classes are held Tuesday and Wednesday in the Conservatory of Music and are under the very able direction

States' Evidence Against Woman Suffrage—(*Continued*)

of Dr. D. E. Sable, Dr. Joel Kelcy and Dr. Edward Pitcairn. Lectures are given on the various forms of injury, their symptoms and treatment, followed by practical demonstrations in bandaging—Boy Scouts acting as the "victims," with nurses from the various hospitals assisting as instructors. At the end of the course Dr. Sable will conduct an examination and the successful candidates will receive certificates from the American Red Cross, whereby at least, nearly 250 Pittsburgh women will be qualified for Red Cross work; and even though we never use this knowledge in actual Red Cross service, we feel that efficiency in First Aid to the Injured is well worth while to all of us and that our time is being well and profitably spent in taking this course.

MRS. THOMAS CUSHING CLIFFORD.

TENNESSEE

RESPONDING to a recent invitation signed by a number of the leading women of Nashville, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, accompanied by Miss Lucy Jean Price, will leave New York on April 6th to hold the first mass meetings against woman suffrage in Tennessee, and may suggest the formal organization of a State-wide anti-suffrage association.

Mrs. Dodge will open the campaign in Nashville about April 8th, and will outline the principles and policies of anti-suffrage activity.

The anti-suffragists never organize a State until requested to do so by local women. In places where the subject is not already agitated, the anti-suffragists do not organize or urge organization. They believe that women should be free from even anti-suffrage politics, except when it is a duty for them to go into it to protect themselves from being forced into the maelstrom of State and National politics. But when a campaign is on or imminent, they urge every woman to let her sentiments on this question be known, and every man to consult the wishes of the women of his own family in deciding his attitude towards woman's enfranchisement.

VIRGINIA

(Richmond, Va., *Dispatch*)

THE annual business meeting of the Virginia Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage was held at the Jefferson Hotel. A large and enthusiastic membership was present and several interesting reports and papers were read. The election of officers resulted in the old officers being retained for another year.

Of considerable interest was the report made by Miss Caroline Preston Davis, of the joint debate, held in Charlottesville, between Miss Eudora Ramsay, of Greenville, S. C., who had the affirmative, and Miss Lucy Price, who upheld the negative side of the question, which resolved that women should be given the ballot.

There were 1,500 people present, said Miss Davis, and the debate was of considerable interest. So much so, in fact, she said, that the next day the English teachers of the University of Virginia took up the debate as subject matter, and they, as well as the students, agreed unanimously that Miss Price had won the debate.

The work of the past year, especially in establishing new branches throughout the State, was particularly gratifying. There have been four new branches created within the past four weeks, according to the report, and this feature was received with considerable applause.

Following the usual business routine, the association settled down to work in planning for the coming year.

WEST VIRGINIA

IN West Virginia committees have been formed in all the cheif cities preparatory to the organization of a State-wide association.

Miss Clara Markeson, a National organizer who has been working in West Virginia recently, declares that the local committees are building up an active anti-suffrage sentiment throughout the State. As soon as it has crystalized into organization the West Virginia women hope to hold an anti-suffrage convention in Charleston or Wheeling, at which they will perfect plans for an aggressive and successful campaign.

Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin and Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, both of New Jersey, have recently been speaking in West Virginia and received a courteous welcome and enthusiastic support at every meeting.

The Wheeling Anti-Suffrage Committee, which was the first in the State to organize, and will probably be the parent association, recently elected the following officers:

President, Mrs. Andrew W. Wilson, Honorary President, Mrs. W. F. Butler. Miss Annie Wilson, Miss Margaret Johnson and Miss Anna Reymann have been chosen as the press committee.

"The Suffragists are worried—that is the only word," is the first report.

WISCONSIN

(Milwaukee, Wis., *Press.*)

THE Milwaukee County Anti-Suffrage Association, at a meeting of the executive board yesterday afternoon, adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas, We believe in an extension of democracy, so that all people shall share the responsibility of government, and have a part in determining all important public policies, therefore be it

"Resolved, That we are opposed to the effort now being made in Congress, to determine the very important question of the extension of the right of suffrage, without submitting the question to a vote of the people, and

"Resolved, further, That we are opposed to the methods now being used by women to coerce Congress and to influence political parties at the national conventions."

A Statement About the "Woman's Protest"

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of August 24, 1912, of THE WOMAN'S PROTEST, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1916:

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MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this thirty-first day of March, 1916.

CHAS. EDGAR, Notary Public,
No. 1387, Queens County.

HOW DOUBLE SUFFRAGE WORKS IN ILLINOIS

THE Republican Convention in Chicago will witness a parade of suffragists for the vote in that city in June—but it would have been more impressed had more women of that city voted April 4th. Only 19 per cent. of the women over 21 voted. Of the 725,000 women of voting age in Chicago, only 139,699 voted at the last election. This in spite of the fact that the Chicago Church Federation, immediately preceding the election, issued this statement: "Every qualified voter should vote. It is the shame and peril of our political life that such large numbers of supposedly respectable people take no active interest in practical politics. To neglect to vote is a betrayal that amounts almost to treason to this republic. * * * Many moral issues now challenge the best thought of the citizens of Chicago."

The women's vote this year is smaller than it has been since they secured partial suffrage in Illinois in 1913. A year ago they cast 144,640 votes for Mayor Thompson, or more than the total number of women's votes for all candidates in 1916. The largest vote ever cast by women in Chicago was in 1915, when 243,309, or 39.5 per cent. of the women over 21 voted. At that election 426,349, or 53 per cent. of the 804,000 men voted. The men's vote in 1916 was 318,681, or 39.5 per cent. of their possible vote. The vote of the men since 1915 has decreased from 53 to 39 per cent.; and that of the women from 39 to 19 per cent.

The result of the election was a comparative gain for the Democrats and the other opponents of Mayor Thompson. Of the 28 candidates indorsed by the "wets," 23 were victorious. Only 1,146 votes of both men and women were cast for prohibition. The Socialist party was the only party which gained more voters. The Republicans lost 208,583, or over 50 per cent. of their former vote; the Democrats 41,033, or 16 per cent.; while the Socialists gained 85 per cent., polling 45,779 votes this year against 24,452 in 1915.

In Illinois the wets gained two counties and lost one to the "dry" forces. Approximately 200 saloons were voted in and another 200 voted out. In seventeen townships the drys gained new territory; "in about 75 townships now without saloons the drys resisted the invading wets successfully," says the Chicago *Herald;* in 15 dry towns the wets won, and in 30 towns the wets held their own. The drys added Henry County to their list, while the wets won McLean and Williamson Counties, reducing the number of counties now dry to 52. Before the election 53 of the 102 Illinois counties were dry.

In some of the elections the women's majority for the wets increased over that of 1914.

The analysis of the entire election in Illinois shows that only a minority of the women will vote under any circumstances, no matter how much they are urged to do so, and that under double suffrage Socialism, rather than Prohibition, is the gainer.

WHAT "REPRESENTATION" MEANS

By MISS ALICE HILL CHITTENDEN,
President, New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

THE principle of representative government requires that a legislator vote in accordance with the expressed will of the people of his district.

"The fundamental principle of a republic is the law of majority rule."

If the majority of the people in his district have indicated that they do not desire woman suffrage no legislator can conscientiously vote in favor of it.

No legislator can justify his surrender to the threats of the woman suffrage machine in the face of an anti-suffrage majority among the people he represents.

Only one senatorial district in New York State, the Fifty-first, and less than a dozen assembly districts gave majorities for suffrage. Therefore only one senator and less than a dozen assemblymen can vote for the measure with authority.

Suffragists declare that men who vote against their wishes "shall never go back" to Congress or the Legislature. They threaten to work against all candidates for re-election who vote against suffrage bills.

But the suffragists have been unsuccessful in their attempts to defeat the men they have blacklisted and boycotted. In 1914 the Congressional Union declared war on the Democratic party. It sent trainloads of speakers and agitators into the Western States to defeat all candidates of that party. As a result the only part of the country where the Democratic party made gains that year was where the suffragists worked against them.

In 1914 the National American Woman Suffrage Association issued a "blacklist" of eighteen Congressmen whose re-election it would oppose. All of them were returned to Congress, *and Mr. Underwood was promoted to the Senate.* The campaign of terrorism that the suffragists have threatened is an indignity and a farce.

The representative represents the majority!

"HOW THE VOTE WAS WON"

IT is a little known fact that Utah had woman suffrage from 1870 to 1887; that Mormon women were sent to Washington to tell Congress that they enjoyed their status as plural wives; that an act was passed by Congress in 1887 repealing woman suffrage in Utah as a result in part of this spectacle of degradation.

In 1896, Utah adopted woman suffrage again, and has retained it since. The Mormon has always favored woman suffrage. With plural wives he had more votes and more easily controlled votes. In the early days of the West, the Mormon had several wives, while the majority of the Gentile men were single—as they are to-day in that region—and the adoption of woman suffrage in that section may owe more to Mormon sagacity than to suffrage agitation.

Strangely enough, ex-Senator Frank J. Cannon, son of a Mormon official, recently named the entire eleven full suffrage States as under the influence of the Mormons.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE *Atlantic Monthly,* which publishes a notable article in its current number by Senator Bray, of Wisconsin, under the title, "Do Women Want the Vote?" is using this article as the chief appeal in a letter addressed to prospective women subscribers.

The fact is significant. Hard-headed circulation managers are coming to realize that the majority of their women readers are not suffragists, and want to learn something about the other side of the question.

The statement in the article most emphasized by the letter sent out by the *Atlantic Monthly* is this:

"When suffrage for women is once granted, it is an irrevocable step. How unfortunate it would be to take an irrevocable step for a reason that will no longer exist after a comparatively short time."

Senator Bray alludes to prohibition. He says:

"Many are suffragists only because of saloons. They want women to have the ballot only to bring about prohibition.

"In my opinion, the liquor problem is of minor importance in comparison with the suffrage question. Whether or not women vote, it is generally admitted that the liquor problem will be permanently solved in the course of time by laws that will have public sentiment back of them to make them enforceable. On the other hand, equal suffrage is for all time."

THE Junior Leagues of anti-suffragists are doing great work. The New York Juniors recently raised over $1,800 at one dance, and contributed one-half of the amount to the training of aviators.

The Junior Auxiliary of the Pittsburgh Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has established classes where first aid to the injured will be taught all women who attend. Those completing the course will be entitled to Red Cross certificates for first-aid work.

The Democratic party in Colorado has thrown down the gauntlet to the Congressional Union of woman suffragists. In a recent statement made by a leader of the State Central Committee to the Colorado Springs *Gazette,* the situation is thus described:

"The Women's Congressional Union has attacked the Democratic party in this State time and time again during the last two years. It has sent emissaries here to fight our representatives in Washington and they have waged continuous warfare upon them in the capital. We purpose to call a halt and put a stop to these outrages. It may lose us a few votes among the women, but we would prefer facing this loss to facing these repeated and uncalled for attacks."

In 1914, the Democratic party made its chief gains in States where it was persecuted by the Congressional Union.

For the 'teenth time, the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage announces again that it is *going to* organize the alleged "4,000,000 women voters of the West," which Mrs. Catt has reduced to 2,000,000. This announcement is a standard and periodical publicity statement which the Union makes just as regularly as it distributes literature or "declares war" on the Democrats. The Union's little claim cannot be taken seriously. "It can't be done" and nobody knows it so well as the Congressional Union, but the recent action of the Democratic party in Colorado shows that the Union's little announcement will take the form of "going, going, *gone,*" if it does not behave itself better.

"A walkless parade" will be given by suffragists at St. Louis to convince the Democrats that the well-known donkey should stand on a platform containing a suffrage plank. A voteless brigade will step with sorrow from the sidewalks when the convention saws off its platform with this plank short.

The editor of a chain of yellow journals, after showing how well the women of Des Moines—without a vote—have succeeded in demonstrating their ability in the public library, asks: "What becomes of the theory of woman's inferiority?"

Here is the answer: It is still held in reserve by suffragists to be exploited whenever that theory can create prejudice in favor of woman suffrage.

No anti-suffragist believes woman is inferior to man, or that a "piece of paper in a ballot box" could make her his equal if she were inferior. A man must have either a supreme egotism or no sense of proportion who thinks that women must descend to political methods to reach his level.

Not only in libraries, but in public life generally, woman has shown her ability. That is what anti-suffragists *want* her to show. They want women officials *out of politics,* representing women and humanity, rather than a party or faction, or the seventeenth district of the thirty-third ward.

Only suffragists call woman inferior or draw comparisons to belittle her past and present achievements in the world's work.

CHICAGO papers recently carried a symposium of the sentiments of suffrage leaders regarding the neglect of the franchise by young women. One leader is quoted as stating that she teaches girls who go without lunch to learn citizenship; another says she saw none but middle aged and gray-haired women at the polls. A third believes the home and school should be invaded to recruit young women voters.

Why are suffragists so eager to make politicians of everyone in the country? Why have they invaded even the schools with their propaganda of discontent and unrest for women?

The answer must be that the woman suffrage machine, led by a few radical women who adopt it as a fad, depend on it for a living, or use it as a means of personal publicity, would go to pieces in a short time were it to cease exploiting every avenue of feminine activity, and its efforts to involve every girl over 15 in the political maelstrom.

There is too much politics already. With political, racial and sectional divisions threatening our united stand on any grave public question, the woman suffrage machine busies itself in trying to manufacture more politicians instead of better patriots.

What we need most in this country today is Americanism, undiluted by hyphenism based on sex, section, "suffrage first" or country of origin. Whatever may be said of the anti-suffragist otherwise, history will record that she sought nothing for herself, that in an age of contention she pleaded for contentment, that in a day of disaster, division and disrespect for everything before the present, she advanced no theories, but took up her mission to maintain the highest ideals of womanhood, the family and the home, and to preserve unity, patriotism and confidence among men and women.

(Philadelphia, Pa., *Record,* Mar. 26, 1916)

Chester, Pa., March 25.—By a vote of two to one the judges decided in favor of the Reading High School debating team over the Chester High School team in the debate on "Woman Suffrage," the local team supporting the affirmative.

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FOUNDED 1895

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